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ness which is founded on the love and gratitude of peoples.

NAPLES, October, 1860.

This then is the sentiment of this 'red revolutionist, this man whom the Reactionists decry because of his 'subversive' tendencies. He makes his appeal to the princes, he avoids everything which might provoke them, or wound them. He does not wish to conquer them; he only asks that he may convince them by a description of the beneficent attractions of peace and an exposition of the horrors of war.

The ideas for which we struggled have been realized. Italy united, Hungary with a constitutional government, Roumania independent, Servia free, are so many legitimate members of the European-family. Bismarck applying liberal ideas succeeded in creating the Germanic Union; but wishing to give Germany a preponderating influence Prince Bismarck has used and abused all parties, all nations, all statesmen and sovereigns. It is to him that the inextricable situation of Europe is due. In the solitude of his forest with what rage must he regard the cordiality of Russia and France!

We may justly boast of our ideas, we "revolutionists." We never excited one nation against another. We never preached mutual hatred or contempt among the different religious confessions. In the midst of our bloody wars we respected the priest who preached to the people the principles of Christian love. I must emphasize this at the present hour when certain gentlemen and dignitaries judge it fitting to kindle anew the hatreds of former times. In our age which is full of hatreds, in our atmosphere which is charged with electric currents, they deem it proper to preach a crusade against federation, which seeks only to propagate humanitarian ideas.

I am fully convinced that these wicked attempts of an antiquated spirit will come to nothing. Those who are really the servants of the Lord, the preachers of the true religion, will not countenance them. I myself have kept this faith, in spite of so many bitter deceptions, for I always remember my old professor, good father Torma. The venerable old man often came to see me when I returned to Hungary. He was vicar in a village down on the Danube, and one day he came to see me when Canon Schuster, to-day the bishop and benefactor of the diocese of Vacz, was visiting me. We asked him how he was.

'I am living in about my usual manner,' he said. 'In my community half the population is composed of protestants whose pastor has just gone away on vacation. He has entrusted to me his flock. Every Sunday I preach to them, and when one of these good people die I bury him in the name of the Almighty.'

I recommend this good father to the attention of the apostles of hatred met at Trent. I think that in the day of judgment he will have the advantage over those individuals who would like to reenact St. Bartholomew and revive the Holy-Inquisition. I regret profoundly what has taken place in Turkey—the victims of the Christian and Mohamedan agitators. But we should have to witness massacres infinitely more horrible, if the world should blind its eyes and listen to the inflammatory utterances of the Congress of Trent and of those affiliated with it. Let us be suspicious of fanatics and courtiers who have ruined sovereigns and will ruin peoples. They produce nothing but schism in religion and anarchism in politics."

Buda-Pesth, October 2, 1896.

# AN ESSAY TOWARDS THE PRESENT AND FUTURE PEACE OF EUROPE, BY THE ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EUROPEAN DYET, PARLIAMENT, OR ESTATES.

BY WILLIAM PENN.

Published in the year 1693-94.

*Beati Pacifici. Cedant arma togæ.*

(CONCLUDED FROM NOVEMBER NUMBER.)

SECT. IX. *Of the Objections that may be advanced against the Design.*

I will first give an Answer to the Objections that may be offered against my *Proposal*: And in my next and last Section, I shall endeavour to shew some of the manifold Conveniences that would follow this *European League, or Confederacy*.

The first of them is this, *That the strongest and Richest Sovereignty will never agree to it, and if it should, there would be Danger of Corruption more than of Force one Time or other*. I answer to the first Part, he is not stronger than all the rest, and for that Reason you should promote this, and compel him into it; especially before he be so, for then, it will be too late to deal with such an one. To the last Part of the Objection, I say the Way is as open now as then; and it may be the Number fewer, and as easily come at. However, if Men of Sense and Honour, and Substance, are chosen, they will either scorn the Baseness, or have wherewith to pay for the Knavery: At least they may be watch't so, that one may be a check upon the other, and all prudently limited by the Sovereignty they Represent. In all great Points, especially before a final Resolve, they may be obliged to transmit to their Principles, the Merits of such important Cases depending, and receive their last Instructions: which may be done in four and Twenty Days at the most, as the Place of their Session may be appointed.

The Second is, *That it will endanger an Effeminacy by such a Disuse of the Trade of Soldiery; That if there should be any Need for it, upon any Occasion we should be at a Loss as they were in Holland in 72*.

There can be no Danger of Effeminacy, because each Sovereignty may introduce as temperate or Severe a Discipline in the Education of Youth, as they please, by low Living, and due Labour. Instruct them in Mechanical Knowledge, and in Natural Philosophy, by Operation, which is the Honour of the *German Nobility*. This would make them Men: Neither *Women* nor *Lyons*: For *Soldiers* are t'other Extream to Effeminacy. But the Knowledge of Nature, and the useful as well as agreeable Operations of Art, give Men an Understanding of themselves, of the World they are born into, how to be useful and serviceable, both to themselves and others: and how to save and help, not injure or destroy. The Knowledge of Government in General; the particular Constitutions of *Europe*; and above all of his own Country, are very recommending Accomplishments. This fits him for the *Parliament, and Council at Home*, and the *Courts of Princes and Services in the Imperial States abroad*. At least, he is a good Common-Wealths-Man, and can be useful to the Publick, or retire, as there may be Occasion.

To the other Part of the Objection, *of being at a loss for Soldiery as they were in Holland in 72*. The *Proposal* answers for it itself. One has War no more than the other; and will be as much to seek upon Occasion. Nor

is it to be thought that any one will keep up such an Army after such an *Empire* is on Foot, which may hazard the Safety of the rest. However, if it be seen requisit, the Question may be askt, by Order of the Sovereign States, why such an one either raises or keeps up a formidable Body of Troops, and he obliged forthwith to reform or Reduce them; lest any one, by keeping up a great Body of Troops, should surprize a Neighbour. But a small Force in every other Sovereignty, as it is capable or accustomed to maintain, will certainly prevent that Danger, and Vanquish any such Fear.

The Third Objection is, *That there will be great Want of Employment for younger Brothers of Families; and that the Poor must either turn Soldiers or Thieves.* I have answer'd that in my Return to the Second Objection. We shall have the more *Merchants and Husbandmen, or Ingenious Naturalists*, if the Government be but any Thing Solicitous of the *Education of their Youth*: Which, next to the present and immediate Happiness of any Country, ought of all Things to be the *Care and Skill* of the Government. For such as the Youth of any Country is bred, such is the next Generation, and the Government in good or bad Hands.

I am come now to the last Objection, *That Sovereign Princes and States will hereby become not Sovereign: a Thing they will never endure.* But this also, under Correction, is a Mistake, for they remain as Sovereign at Home as ever they were. Neither their Power over their People, nor the usual Revenue they pay them, is diminished: It may be the War Establishment may be reduced, which will indeed of Course follow, or be better employed to the Advantage of the Publick. So that the *Sovereignities* are as they were, for none of them have now any Sovereignty over one another: And if this be called a lessening of their Power, it must be only because the great Fish can no longer eat up the little ones, and that each Sovereignty is *equally defended* from Injuries, and disabled from committing them: *Cedant Arma Togæ* is a Glorious Sentence; the *Voice of the Dove; the Olive Branch of Peace.* A Blessing so great, that when it pleases God to chastise us severely for our Sins, it is with the *Rod of War* that, for the most Part, he whips us: And Experience tells us none leaves deeper Marks behind it.

SECT. X. *Of the real Benefits that flow from this Proposal about Peace.*

I am come to my last Section, in which I shall enumerate some of those many *real Benefits* that flow from this Proposal, for the Present and Future *Peace of Europe.*

Let it not, I pray, be the least, that it prevents the Spilling of so much *Humane and Christian Blood*: For a Thing so offensive to God, and terrible and afflicting to Men, as that has ever been, must recommend our Expedient beyond all Objections. For what can a Man give in Exchange for his Life, as well as Soul? And tho' the chiefest in Government are seldom personally exposed, yet it is a Duty incumbent upon them to be tender of the Lives of their People; since without all Doubt, they are accountable to God for the Blood that is spilt in their Service. So that besides the Loss of so many Lives, of importance to any Government, both for Labour and Propagation, the Cries of so many Widows, Parents and Fatherless are prevented, that cannot be very

pleasant in the Ears of any Government, and is the *Natural Consequence of War in all Government.*

There is another *manifest Benefit* which redounds to *Christendom*, by this *Peaceable Expedient*, *The Reputation of Christianity will in some Degree be recovered in the Sight of Infidels*; which, by the many Bloody and unjust Wars of *Christians*, not only with them, but one with another, hath been greatly impaired. For, to the Scandal of that Holy Profession, *Christians*, that glory in their *Saviour's Name*, have long devoted the Credit and Dignity of it to their worldly Passions, as often as they have been excited by the Impulses of Ambition or Revenge. They have not always been in the Right: Nor has Right been the Reason of War: And not only *Christians* against *Christians*, but the same Sort of *Christians* have embrewed *their Hands in one another's Blood*: Invoking and Interesting, all they could, the *Good and Merciful God to prosper their Arms to their Brethren's Destruction*: Yet their *Saviour* has told them, *that he came to save, and not to destroy the Lives of Men*: To give and plant *Peace* among Men: And if in any Sense he may be said to send War, it is the *Holy War* indeed; for it is to send against the *Devil*, and not the *Persons of Men*. Of all his Titles this seems the most Glorious as well as comfortable for us, that he is the *Prince of Peace*. It is his *Nature*, his *Office*, his *Work*, and the *End*, and excellent Blessings of his Coming, who is both the Maker and Preserver of our *Peace* with God. And it is very remarkable, that in all the *New Testament* he is but once called *Lyon*, but frequently the *Lamb of God*; to denote to us his *Gentle, Meek, and Harmless Nature*; and that those who desire to be the *Disciples of his Cross and Kingdom*, for they are *inseparable*, must be like him, as *St. Paul, St. Peter, and St. John*, tell us. Nor is it said the *Lamb* shall lye down with the *Lyon*, but the *Lyon* shall lye down with the *Lamb*. That is *War* shall yield to *Peace*, and the Soldier turn Hermite. To be sure, *Christians* should not be apt to strive, not *swift* to Anger against any Body, and less with one another, and least of all for the uncertain and fading Enjoyments of this Lower World: And no Quality is exempted from this Doctrine. Here is a wide Field for the Reverend Clergy of *Europe* to act their Part in, who have so much the Possession of Princes and People too. May they recommend and labour this pacifick Means I offer, which will end Blood, if not Strife; and then *Reason*, upon free Debate, will be *Judge*, and not the *Sword*. So that both *Right* and *Peace*, which are the Desire and Fruit of wise Governments, and the choice Blessings of any Country, seem to succeed the Establishment of this Proposal.

The third Benefit is, that it saves *Money*, both to the Prince and People; and thereby prevents those Grudgings and Misunderstandings between them that are wont to follow the devouring Expences of War; and enables both to perform Publick Acts for *Learning, Charity, Manufactures, etc.* The Virtues of Government and Ornaments of Countries. Nor is this all the *Advantage* that follows to *Sovereignities*, upon this *Head* of Money and good *Husbandry*, to whose Service and Happiness this short Discourse is dedicated; for it saves the great Expence that frequent and splendid Embassies require, and all their Appendages of *Spies and Intelligence*, which in the most prudent Governments, have devoured mighty Sums of Money; and that not without some *immoral Practices also*: Such as *Corrupting of Servants* to betray their

*Masters*, by revealing their Secrets; not to be defended by *Christian* or *Old Roman Virtues*. But here, where there is nothing to fear, there is little to know, and therefore the *Purchase* is either *cheap*, or may be wholly *spared*. I might mention *Pensions* to the *Widows* and *Orphans* of such as dye in Wars, and of those that have been disabled in them; which rise high in the Revenue of some Countries.

Our fourth Advantage is, that the *Towns, Cities and Countries*, that might be laid waste by the *Rage of War*, are thereby preserved: A Blessing that would be very well understood in *Flanders* and *Hungary*, and indeed upon all the *Borders of Sovereignities*, which are almost ever the *Stages* of Spoil and Misery; of which the *Stories of England and Scotland* do sufficiently inform us without looking over the *Water*.

The fifth Benefit of this Peace, is the *Ease and Security of Travel and Traffick*: An Happiness never understood since the *Roman Empire* has been broken into so many *Sovereignities*. But we may easily conceive the Comfort and Advantage of travelling through the Governments of *Europe* by a *Pass* from any of the *Sovereignities* of it, which this League and State of *Peace* will naturally make *Authentick*: They that have travel'd *Germany*, where is so great a Number of *Sovereignities*, know the Want and Value of this Privilege, by the many *Stops and Examinations* they meet with by the Way: But especially such as have made the *great Tour of Europe*. This leads to the Benefit of an *Universal Monarchy*, without the Inconveniences that attend it: For when the whole was one *Empire*, tho' these Advantages were enjoyed, yet the several Provinces, that now make the *Kingdoms and States of Europe*, were under some Hardship from the great Sums of *Money* remitted to the Imperial Seat, and the Ambition and Avarice of their several *Pro-consuls and Governours*, and the great *Taxes* they paid to the *Numerous Legions of Soldiers*, that they maintained for their own Subjection, who were not wont to entertain that Concern for them (being uncertainly there, and having their Fortunes to make) which their respective and proper *Sovereigns* have always shown for them. So that to be *Ruled by Native Princes or States*, with the Advantage of that Peace and Security that can only render an *Universal Monarchy* desirable, is peculiar to our Proposal, and for that Reason it is to be preferred.

Another Advantage is, *The Great Security it will be to Christians against the Inroads of the Turk, in their most Prosperous Fortune*. For it had been impossible for the *Port*, to have prevailed so often, and so far from *Christendom*, but by the Carelessness, or Wilful Connivence, if not Aid, of some *Christian Princes*. And for the same Reason, why no *Christian Monarch* will adventure to oppose, or break such an Union, the *Grand Seignior* will find himself obliged to concur, for the Security of what he holds in *Europe*: Where, with all his Strength, he would feel it an Over-Match for him. *The Prayers, Tears, Treasms, Blood and Devastation, that War has cost in Christendom, for these Two last Ages especially, must add to the Credit of our Proposal, and the Blessing of the Peace thereby humbly recommended.*

The Seventh Advantage of an *European, Imperial Dyet, Parliament, or Estates*, is, *That it will beget and increase Personal Friendship between Princes and States*, which tends to the Rooting up of Wars, and Planting Peace in a Deep and Fruitful Soil. For Princes have the Curious-

ity of seeing the Courts and Cities of other Countries, as well as Private Men, if they could as securely and familiarly gratify their Inclinations. It were a great Motive to the Tranquility of the World, *That they could freely Converse Face to Face, and Personally and Reciprocally Give and Receive Marks of Civility and Kindness. An Hospitality* that leaves these Impressions behind it, will hardly let Ordinary Matters prevail, to Mistake or Quarrel one another. Their *Emulation would be in the Instances of Goodness, Laws, Customs, Learning, Arts, Buildings*; and in particular those that relate to *Charity*, the True Glory of some Governments, where Beggars are as much a Rarity, as in other Places it would be to see none.

Nor is this all the Benefit that would come by this *Freedom and Interview of Princes*: For *Natural Affection* would hereby be preserved, which we see little better than lost, *from the Time their Children, or Sisters, are Married into Other Courts*. For the present State and Insincerity of Princes forbid them the Enjoyment of that Natural Comfort which is possess'd by Private Families: Insomuch, that from the Time a Daughter, or Sister is Married to another Crown, Nature is submitted to Interest, and that, for the most Part, grounded not upon Solid or Commendable Foundations, but *Ambition, or Unjust Avarice*. I say, this Freedom, that is the Effect of our Pacifick Proposal, restores *Nature* to Her Just Right and Dignity in the Families of Princes, and them to the Comfort She brings, wherever She is preserved in Her proper Station. Here *Daughters* may Personally intreat their *Parents*, and *Sisters* their *Brothers*, for a good Understanding between them and their *Husbands*, where Nature, not crush'd by Absence, and Sinister Interests, but acting by the Sight and Lively Entreaties of such near Relations, is almost sure to prevail. They cannot easily resist the most affectionate Addresses of such powerful Solicitors, *as their Children, and Grand-Children, and their Sisters, Nephews, and Nieces*: And so backward from *Children to Parents, and Sisters to Brothers*, to keep up and preserve their own Families, by a good Understanding between their Husbands and them.

To conclude this Section, there is yet another Manifest Privilege that follows this *Intercourse and Good Understanding*, which methinks should be very moving with Princes, viz. *That hereby they may chuse Wives for themselves*, such as they Love, and not by *Proxy* merely to gratify Interest; an ignoble Motive; and that rarely begets, or continues that *Kindness* which ought to be between Men and their Wives. A Satisfaction very few Princes ever knew, and to which all other Pleasures ought to resign. Which has often obliged me to think, *That the Advantage of Private Men upon Princes, by Family Comforts, is a sufficient Ballance against their Greater Power and Glory: The one being more in Imagination, than Real; and often Unlawful; but the other, Natural, Solid, and Commendable.* Besides, it is certain, Parents Loving Well before they are Married, which very rarely happens to Princes, *has Kind and Generous Influences upon their Offspring: Which, with their Example, makes them better Husbands, and Wives, in their Turn.* This, in great Measure, prevents Unlawful Love, and the Mischiefs of those Intrigues that are wont to follow them: What *Hatred, Feuds, Wars, and Desolations* have, in divers Ages, flown from Unkindness between *Princes and their Wives? What Unnatural Divisions*

among their Children, and Ruin to their Families, if not Loss of their Countries by it? Behold an Expedient to prevent it, a Natural and Efficacious One: Happy to Prince, and Happy to their People also. For Nature being renewed and strengthened by these Mutual Pledges and Endearments, I have mentioned, will leave those soft and kind Impressions behind in the Minds of Princes that *Court and Country* will very easily discern and feel the Good Effects of: Especially if they have the Wisdom to show that they Interest themselves in the Prosperity of the Children and Relations of their Princes. For it does not only incline them to be Good, but engage those Relations to become Powerful Suitors to their Princes for them, if any Misunderstanding should unhappily arise between them and their *Sovereigns*: Thus ends this *Section*. It now rests to conclude the Discourse, in which, if I have not pleased my *Reader*, or answered his Expectation, it is some Comfort to me I meant well, and have cost him but little Money and Time; and Brevity is an Excuse, if not a Virtue, where the Subject is not agreeable, or is but ill prosecuted.

#### THE CONCLUSION.

I Will conclude this *my Proposal of an European, Sovereign, or Imperial Dyet, Parliament, or Estates*, with that which I have touch'd upon before, and which falls under the Notice of every One concerned, by coming Home to their Particular and Respective Experience within their own *Sovereignties*. That by the same *Rules of Justice and Prudence*, by which Parents and Masters Govern their Families, and Magistrates their Cities, and Estates their Republicks, and Princes and Kings their Principalities and Kingdoms, *Europe* may obtain and Preserve *Peace among Her Sovereignties*. For Wars are the *Duels of Princes*; and as Government in Kingdoms and States, *Prevents Men being Judges and Executioners for themselves*, over-rules Private Passions as to Injuries or Revenge, and subjects the Great as well as the Small to the *Rule of Justice*, that Power might not vanquish or oppress Right, nor one Neighbour act an *Independency and Sovereignty upon another*, while they have resigned that Original Claim to the Benefit and Comfort of Society; so this being soberly weighed in the Whole, and Parts of it, it will not be hard to conceive or frame, nor yet to execute the Design I have here proposed.

And for the better understanding and perfecting of the *Idea*, I here present to the *Sovereign Princes and Estates of Europe*, for the Safety and Tranquility of it, I must recommend to their Perusals *Sir William Temple's Account of the United Provinces*; which is an Instance and Answer, upon *Practice*, to all the Objections that can be advanced against the Practicability of my Proposal: Nay, it is an Experiment that not only comes to our Case, but exceeds the Difficulties that can render its Accomplishment disputable. For there we shall find *Three Degrees of Sovereignties to make up every Sovereignty in the General States*. I will reckon them backwards: First, *The States General themselves*; then the *Immediate Sovereignties* that constitute them, which are those of the *Provinces*, answerable to the *Sovereignties of Europe*, that by their *Deputies* are to compose the *European Dyet, Parliament or Estates* in our Proposal: And then there are the several Cities of each *Province*, that are so many *Independent or Distinct Sovereignties*, which compose those of the *Provinces*, as those of the *Provinces* do compose the *States General* at the *Hague*.

But I confess I have the Passion to wish heartily, that the Honour of Proposing and Effecting so Great and Good a Design, might be owing to *England*, of all the Countries in *Europe*, as something of the Nature of our Expedient was, in Design and Preparation, to the Wisdom, Justice, and Valour, of *Henry the Fourth of France*, whose Superior Qualities raising his Character above those of His Ancestors, or Contemporaries, deservedly gave Him the Stile of *Henry the Great*. For *He* was upon obliging the *Princes and Estates of Europe* to a *Political Ballance*, when the *Spanish Faction*, for that Reason, contrived, and accomplished *His Murder*, by the Hands of *Ravilliac*. I will not then fear to be censured, for proposing an *Expedient* for the Present and Future *Peace of Europe*, when it was not only the *Design*, but *Glory of One of the Greatest Princes that ever reigned in it*; and is found Practicable in the Constitution of one of the Wisest and Powerfulest States of it. So that to conclude, I have very Little to answer for in all this Affair; because, if it succeed, I have so Little to deserve: For this *Great King's Example* tells us it is fit to be done; and *Sir William Temple's History* shews us, by a Surpassing Instance, *That it may be done*; and *Europe*, by her Incomparable Miseries, makes it now *Necessary to be done*: That my Share is only thinking of it at this Juncture, and putting it into the Common Light for the Peace and Prosperity of *Europe*.

#### PRESS COMMENTS ON THE AGREEMENT TO REFER THE VENEZUELA QUESTION TO ARBITRATION.

##### THE INDEPENDENT.

Arbitration means equal and even-handed justice, the end of a troublesome controversy, and the avoidance of war. Once again is demonstrated to the world the strength of the ties that fast bind England and the United States in the fellowship of peace. In the correspondence our government has refused to express any opinion whatever on the merits of the question. We have simply argued that England's claims have not been consistent, but have gradually increased, and that the true divisional line could only be ascertained after careful investigation. The burden of the correspondence in the past six months or so has been, not the question of arbitration, but what territory should be submitted to the proposed tribunal. The English government held that it had an obligation to protect British settlers, and that settled districts could not fairly be treated the same as unsettled districts. This point Secretary Olney has so far conceded that settlers of fifty years' undisputed occupancy are to be treated as having gained a valid title. This is perfectly reasonable, and under this rule such modifications in the boundary line are to be made as the facts may warrant. The work of our Commissioners is not lost. It will give the tribunal just the information it needs. Our government has, it should be clearly understood, no case to prosecute before the tribunal. It does not say what claims of England are tenable and what untenable. It gained its contention when it was finally agreed that the whole boundary question should be determined according to the ascertained facts of history and occupation. For us, the great achievement is one that is quite as much a burden as a blessing. It is the acknowledgment that the United States is the recognized defender and patron